

# PEACE NEWS

No. 313

JUNE 12, 1942

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## What Does Gandhi Mean?

asks JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

**S**INCE the failure of the Cripps mission to India, Gandhi has resumed his rightful place in the centre of the Indian scene.

His prompt assessment of the Cripps proposals as "a post-dated cheque" proved to have been prophetic.

It may be said that this prophet, at least, is influential enough to make his own prophecies come true. But that only emphasizes that Gandhi is the central figure of the Indian scene, whether he remains in the background or elects to take the stage.

I have noticed, with a certain interest, how embarrassed are Congress politicians resident in England when they are reminded of the existence of Gandhi. They would obviously be much more comfortable if he did not exist. They avoid mentioning his name.

And if they are challenged by a British questioner, they will explain that the apparent popularity of Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence is purely a practical consequence of the fact that the Indians are unarmed. In so far as they are non-violent, it is not because they want to be, but because non-violent co-operation is the only weapon at their disposal.

No doubt it is half-true. Gandhi himself has pointed out again and again that very many of his nominal followers in non-violence are quite without the religious belief which is fundamental to the true doctrine. They are in the position of strikers, who would be violent if they could only get hold of the arsenal.

And British pacifists often make the mistake of supposing that the political efficacy of a movement compounded perhaps equally of the non-violent by religious conviction and the non-violent by lack of opportunity, is to be put wholly to the credit of religious non-violence.

### Powerful Movement

But it is equally important not to be misled by the thinly disguised communism of some Congress politicians into the belief that Gandhi's religious non-violence is not very powerful. Almost certainly, it is more akin to the temper of the Indian peasants than the smouldering mass-revolution by violence with which they are credited by the Congress communists.

Gandhi, no doubt, has elevated the instinctive sentiments of the Indian peasant into a highly spiritual creed. He is the saint, whereas they are ordinary men; but the sainthood of Gandhi is much more in their line than the frustrated revolutionary violence of the would-be Communist. The passive acquiescence of the peaceful peasant finds its consummation in Gandhi's satyagraha.

Behind this profound difference between the tactical non-violence of the Congress politician and the religious or semi-religious, or instinctive non-violence of the Indian peasant is concealed an equally profound difference between Communism and Community.

Congress politicians—those at least who are not "liberal" and obsolete—are more or less communist nowadays; and in so far as they have any clear vision of the future independent India it is on the pattern of the USSR. There is to be an immense plan of industrialization. They do not make it clear how this would work in a country which has twenty times as many inhabitants to the square mile as Russia.

### Agricultural Basis

Gandhi, on the other hand, makes the village community based on agriculture quite fundamental to his pattern of a regenerated India. He is implacably opposed to industrial urbanization. He works directly for the revivification of the village-

community; its liberation from the money-lender and the absentee owner; its emancipation from the tyranny of the cheap products of the machine which, as he truly says, are merely a means to further enslavement and impoverishment of the Indian peasants. He is deeply convinced that the village-community can become the solid foundation of a peaceful and prosperous way of life throughout India, and that no other foundation is possible.

And this conviction of his—it is important to realize—is an integral part not merely of his nationalism, but of his pacifism. He is often reputed to be absolutely opposed to the machine. That is not true. He demands that the machine shall be brought firmly under the social control of the great national community of village-communities. Wherever it can be made subservient to the true well-being of the village-community, there it can be not merely tolerated but encouraged. But the health and wholeness of the village-community is the one final criterion

## —to India— and to Pacifists

of the permissibility of the machine.

Behind this is Gandhi's conviction that a machine-economy, whether it be called Socialist, Communist, Fascist, or merely Capitalist, without such control by the autonomous village-community, creates such frustration of the primary and instinctive creativeness of man that it issues finally in war.

This is a level at which British pacifists, with a few exceptions—Eric Gill and Max Plowman chief among them—have only begun to think. It is high time they realized that Gandhi's pacifism is quite inseparable from a social doctrine which is still unfamiliar to them.

It is not unknown for British pacifists to combine idealization of Gandhi with a scarcely concealed contempt for the efforts of pacifist agricultural communities, and yet to be completely unconscious of the contradiction. It is desirable that those who desire to follow Gandhi should know to what they are committing themselves. It will save them much disillusion.

### SUSPENSE!

**I**N order that we may concentrate our efforts on our drive to clear off the £4,500 debt on Dick Sheppard House by the anniversary of his death, PPU Headquarters Fund will be suspended as soon as the collecting cards are available for distribution; and the fortnightly appeal for H.Q. fund in Peace News will be devoted to chronicling the progress of the new Redemption Fund.

The suspension of our H.Q. fund will be only temporary; and I would beg those who have not contributed to it to send in all they can without delay, so that when the time comes to resume, in November next, we may be very near our goal, which remains £1,000.

Contributions since May 29: £13 10 2.  
Total to date: £581 16 4.

### The Editor.

Please note that cheques, etc. for the PPU fund should be made payable to the Peace Pledge Union but sent to Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. Donations to our own Fighting Fund, however, should be made payable to Peace News (not as erroneously stated last week).

### A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

## Out - Blitzing the Blitz Gives Confidence

**T**HE mammoth raids upon Cologne and Essen more than any other single recent happening have engendered a mood of confidence concerning the final outcome of the war. They have the advantage, from the point of view of the Government, of appealing directly to popular sentiment, both here and in America, where the response to "the biggest ever" is proverbial. And it is quite likely that raids of such magnitude on that particular area achieve a considerable military effect. The photographs of the devastation of Cologne (which show that the Cathedral escaped major damage) make the report of 20,000 killed not impossible. Nevertheless, it is improbable. But we may suppose that, for the Germans, the raid was a good deal worse than the worst of the London blitzes. Whether the effect on German morale will be different remains to be seen. If the German people are as discouraged as they are reputed to be, it is surely the moment to offer them a tolerable future.

### Vital Libya Battle

**T**HE course of the stubborn and dramatic battle in Libya—wherein decisive victory would restore to us the control of the Mediterranean, and immensely ease the extreme pressure on our shipping—seems to indicate that, in spite of the difficulty of supply, the British army is still able to give as good as it gets in that theatre of war—up to a point. The crux of the situation is the rate of wastage on either side. It is generally admitted that owing to our lack of control of the Middle Sea, Rommel can more easily make good his losses than we.

We have not the evidence to cast up any reliable balance in losses up-to-date; but almost all that we know tends to make us, perhaps unduly, optimistic (Telegraph, June 8).

### New Atlantic Battle

**CAPT. LIDDELL-HART** discusses the possibility of a general "stalemate" from which the road to victory could only be found by

"genius" (Mail, June 8). But a stalemate in Libya, for example, though it might do damage to the German reputation for invincibility, would not be as favourable as it sounds. For behind the obscure operations of the battlefield are the much less publicized operations of the German submarines, with which the battle of Libya is very directly connected.

Naturally enough, there is very little mention of this "new Battle of the Atlantic" (E. Standard, June 6); but a message from New York says that last week 24 ships were sunk in the Atlantic—"one of the highest weekly tolls" (Mail, June 8). The trial balance-sheet of this world-wide war obviously cannot be drawn up—in public, anyhow.

### China's Disappointment

**T**HE interim report of the American naval air-battle near Midway Island is to be received with the same caution as the report of the battle of the Coral Sea. But, combined with the news of the safe-arrival of the great Indian convoy, it has more than offset the fainter impression made by the Japanese successes in China. Yet these are important. "Japan has taken too easily airfields which might have been used against her" (M. Guardian, June 6).

The disappointment among the Chinese nationalists must be profound at the disaster which has so quickly followed the entry of Britain and USA into the war as her allies. From a very detached point of view it would appear that Japan has treated Britain and USA as great Powers are wont to treat small nations. Japan no doubt hopes that the discouragement of almost complete isolation will be enough to ensure China's surrender. Chinese heroism has become legendary; but it looks as though the scales were now too heavily weighted against her.

### But It Won't Lie Down?

**A**N enormous fillip to dreams of a post-war Elysium has been given

by prominent figures in the USA—Vice-President Wallace, Mr. Milo Perkins, Mr. Sumner Welles, and now Mr. Winant, who tells us: "We must solemnly resolve that in our future order we will not tolerate the economic evils which breed poverty and war." Memories are short; but surely not quite so short that they forget that a similar peace-idealism was propounded by an American of still greater authority, at a like short interval after the USA had entered the war of 1914-18. President Wilson was disowned by his countrymen. President Roosevelt, a more astute politician, has not committed himself. Why? Probably because he knows that if he did try to commit USA to becoming guardian of world-peace and world-economic justice, he would vastly strengthen the by no means negligible opposition to him.

The most encouraging thing about this American awareness is that it implies full American participation in building the post-war world. It implies the death and burial of Isolationism.

Yet, on the same page, the News-Chronicle (June 8) features a dispatch from its New York correspondent which says: "Nobody can say how Americans will act after the war: the Americans themselves cannot know."

### A French Patriot?

**I**MAGINED that I should remain the solitary upholder of the opinion that Laval is a French patriot. I was not a little surprised to read in a careful account of Laval's activities since his re-accession to power by the Diplomatic Correspondent of the Catholic Herald (June 5):

"Laval is neither pro-German nor pro-Italian. He is pro-Laval but he is also a French patriot. Today he has given a still more spirited exhibition of the technique followed by Petain for two years. He has advertised Italian claims distasteful to Germany, and has used Germany to defeat those Italian claims. How long will he be able to continue such a stratagem?"

Laval, the writer explains, was called to office to meet, with the finesse of which he is a past-master, the danger of the Italian claims on France which were being pressed because of Germany's difficulties in the winter. He has met the danger, for the time being anyhow, by setting Germany and Italy by the ears.

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## PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing & Advertisement  
Office: (Please specify department)

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.  
Telephone: Stamford Hill 2262-3

### Subscription Rates:

Home: Quarterly, 3/3; Yearly, 12/6  
Abroad: Quarterly, 2/9; Yearly, 10/6

## Groping for the Light

COLOGNE pays for Exeter and Canterbury for Cologne. We Germans and British vie in reciprocal devastation of the cathedral cities which are the noblest record of the common aspiration of European man. A demonic power drives men to annihilate what is loveliest and most irreplaceable in their own heritage. This paroxysm of savagery has its source in the collapse of European community. And the paradox is that at a time when men consciously appreciate the beauty and the significance of their cathedrals as they have never done before, they are impelled to destroy them. They wistfully admire the loveliness of the creations of their old religion; but the religion which made them sacrosanct is departed.

The times are passing strange. The psychologist might say that somewhere, deep and unacknowledged in the European psyche, is a lust for destruction of all that testifies to the communion and community of the past. European man wants to blast away the accusing finger of the cathedral spire. Assuredly, there is no simple explanation of the paradox by which an age which prided itself above all others on its "culture" should be in fact so undisturbed by the destruction of its own holy places. But one thing is certain. It is evidence of the sinister superficiality of modern "culture", its complete divorce from the roots of any culture that is real, which are religion and a religious way of life.

Yet, while we devastate the incomparable creations of our lost religion, we are not content to go down in darkness and despair. Men's minds are groping, more consciously than before, towards the discovery of some means of preventing the suicide of a machine-civilization. True, nearly all of them take it for granted that the suicide must go on until "victory is won." But after that, anyhow, something must be done to prevent the nations from working to ruin one another. The bolder spirits say that we must wait until the end of the war. We must make a beginning now. We must have the arrangements all ready for a world at economic peace. And, sceptical though we are, we must allow that there is steadily growing a serious concern to lay the foundations of economic peace after the war.

And yet we must ask: Is it really conceivable, is it really in accord with our bitter experience of human nature in a modern mass-society, that after this holocaust of savagery and destruction the nations will be animated by a spirit of mutual generosity? We may talk economic abstractions as long as we will, but the only foundation of economic peace is mutual generosity. That is what all the schemes boil down to: the will to help your former enemy, the will to give, without expectation of profit or return.

Can such a will be created in time of total war without also creating the will to end the war itself? We do not believe it. Unless we are prepared to create the will to end the war itself, both in ourselves and in the enemy, as a mutual act, we cannot create the will to a generous peace. Generosity is not to be turned on by a tap. If we wait till the end of the war to behave generously, it will be beyond our power to behave generously. The devils men have conjured up, in years of war and hatred, will not lose their grip upon their souls. Revenge, not generosity, will triumph; and an epoch of yet darker darkness will begin.

Will the author of the article entitled "Retrospect 1950" please send her name and address to the Editor.

## The Duke of Bedford reveals

# THE GRAND STRATEGY

A GENTLEMAN who did not appear to be a pacifist wrote a letter to Peace News a short time ago in which he described the paper as a defeatist rag which ought to be suppressed. As I am sensitive to public opinion this letter has got thoroughly under my skin. I have therefore ceased to be a defeatist and aim at becoming the country's greatest exponent of the Grand Strategy.

Mr. Churchill is also a believer in the Grand Strategy, but so far his strategy has never been quite grand enough, and he allows himself to get over-involved in detail.

For example, he may concentrate so much on aggressing against the French in Madagascar in order to stop the Germans aggressing against Russia that he lets the Japs give us a knock near New Guinea. When, however, he receives his copy of Peace News via the Home Office and reads this article, I am sure that he will be the first to admit that, like many other members of the Government, he has always under-estimated my abilities.

### The First Consideration

There are only two things about this war that really matter, and the first, of course, is to win it. So long as we win, it doesn't much matter against whom or with whose help.

Surely the course of the war has already proved that?

In the early stages we were helping the French to beat the Germans and preparing to help the Finns to beat the Russians. Now we are helping the Russians to beat the Finns and helping the Germans to make the French defeat more thorough.

The other thing that is important in regard to the war is that we should squash these Japs who are getting on a darned sight too well. They are the Yellow Peril and the new version of the White Man's Burden.

(The Chinese, of course, are yellow, too, but as at the present time they are on our side, they are not a Burden.)

### Essential Alliance

In order to defeat the Japs it is necessary to make an alliance with Hitler.

"There is nothing very original

about that idea," I hear someone say; "Quite a number of people have been suggesting it lately." Wait a moment; wait a moment. This is only the beginning of the Grand Strategy.

We must also restore the friendship between Hitler and Stalin. There should be no real difficulty about this. The Germans and Russians must be sick of fighting one another, and they are only looking for a good excuse to stop. I don't believe, either, that Hitler is half as fond of the Japs as he has had to make out. Indeed, if Mr. Churchill had been less secretive about the purpose of Hess's visit, we might already have known this for a fact.

I don't believe, either, that Stalin can have much love for the Japs. They beat Russia in the last war they had with her and more recently they have been very nasty to Chinese Communists.

### The Big Happy Family

Once you accept the main idea of the Grand Strategy its beauties and possibilities unfold themselves, almost without end.

One of our main difficulties with regard to Japan has been lack of aircraft, but if the German and Russian Air Forces were added to the British and American we should have dis-

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## Labour and the Party Truce

ACCORDING to Mr. Harold Laski, in the New Statesman (June 6) the temper of the Labour Party Conference was very encouraging, because it spells the end of the electoral truce. We shall see. An end of the electoral truce means one of two things: either a complete split in the Labour Party, or the resignation of office by the Labour representatives in the Government. I do not remember any occasion when Labour politicians have resigned office. I will wait till it happens before I believe it. The alternative then becomes: the Labour members in office stick to office, as a second edition of National Labour, and the rest of the party go their own way. I will wait to believe that too.

The same Mr. Laski wanted to know—at a debate between himself and Sir Richard Acland—why, if Sir Richard Acland was preaching socialism, he did not come into the Labour Party? The answer is quite simple, though I suppose Sir Richard was too polite to make it: that he did not wish to be in the same equivocal position as Mr. Laski.

### Churchill's Victory

HOWEVER, we may agree with Mr. Laski in his account of the actual position, while dismissing his prognosis of what the Labour Party will do:

"At present, the electoral truce enables Mr. Churchill, with the support in the circumstances, natural enough, of vested interests, to refuse any serious consideration of Labour views, and those socialists who support him are deceived by the conviction that it is only 'party' questions that are being postponed. The real result is the very different one of giving added strength to giant capitalism and of preventing the nation from expressing an opinion on that change. Under the pretence of avoiding 'controversial' questions, Mr. Churchill is, in fact, being allowed to determine the economic destiny of this country after victory; for economic forms create political structures independently of the wills of men. Those Labour leaders who support his policy... may assist in the achievement of a military victory only to find that its economic basis has made impossible the very ends for which it has been fought."

I refrain from saying "I told you so," in order to express my astonishment that Mr. Laski should be naive enough to believe that the Labour Party is a socialist party; or fatuous enough to believe that the last Labour Conference showed that it was. That conference unanimously endorsed the Mineworkers' scheme for the mines. It was not a socialist scheme; it was very precisely a fascist scheme—part of the British Corporative State. Perhaps that is as good as Socialism: certainly it is more likely. But Professor Laski should know the difference.

### Political Evolution

SIGNIFICANTLY enough, while Professor Laski is indulging his abstractionism, an article signed "Mass-Observation" in the same paper (New Statesman, June 6) shows a real appreciation of the actual political evolution of this country hidden by the admittedly unreal facade of obsolete party-politics: "Learning the lesson of total mobilization strains the whole tradition of Britain, slowly forces a new dichotomy, where we may presently find, on the one hand, the FBI, the TUC, the male artisan, the small shopkeeper, the priest, the newspaper-proprietor; on the other, the independent Tory, the radical, the parson, the intellectual, scientist and professional man, the soldier, the unorganized, and the non-voter—disagreeing in concept of priority rights on the fruits of earth and effort,

and on the relative rewards of experience and tradition."

A very suggestive paragraph, that. As a mixture of Independent Tory and parson I accept my category; but I would like to know what precisely the writer meant by his dichotomy between priest and parson.

### Immaculate Union

MISS Rose Macaulay has protested against "the unceremonial and pathological Soviet worship" which is now rampant in this country. She gives an account of a meeting which was advertised to answer questions from those seeking information about the Soviet Union. All questions had to be sent up in writing. The platform selected those suitable for reply.

"At the end, someone asked why his question had not been answered. The Chairman replied that questions insolent and insulting to the Soviet Union—he implied that all these came from Trotskyites—had, of course, not been dealt with. I had sent up one myself, at the beginning, about the position under the Soviet penal code of traitors of twelve years old, a subject on which I really wanted information... I presume that my question was found insolent, insulting, and inconvenient to answer. In general, the attitude of the platform compared very unfavourably with that of a religious platform dealing with inquiries about God."

Miss Macaulay characteristically adds: "I believe no other country has ever been treated as if it were an Immaculate Conception."

### Land of Freedom

THIS extraordinary adulation of Russia, whose political methods, internal and external, are hard to distinguish from those of Germany, has always been displayed by members of the Communist Party in this country. It is indeed an article of religious faith with them that the USSR can do no wrong. But at the present moment, owing to the widespread feeling of political frustration in this country, and to the relatively successful defence of Russia in comparison with our own reverses, this absurd attitude is spreading fast among the British people. They have to believe in something; and they tend to believe in Russia. The Communist Party exploits the situation with skill and fanaticism.

It strikes me as rather extraordinary that no one dares to put the plain question to the agitation for the removal of the ban on the Daily Worker in the name of the freedom of the press: Why should the freedom of the press be allowed to a journal which advocates the suppression of the freedom of the press? I am not suggesting that it should be refused. I am merely surprised that the question is never asked. Is it because it is expedient just now to foster the belief that Russia is a land of freedom?

### Sinister Revolution

I ASKED the price of some very pleasant looking grapes in a shop. 30s. a pound! Was it in Bond Street? Nowhere near. In fact, it was hard by the Nag's Head. Grapes at 30s. a pound at the Nag's Head! It seems like the end of the world. And surely it is the end of a world. When people who live near the Nag's Head can pay 30s. a pound for grapes, there has been a revolution of some sort. Not a good sort, I am afraid.

Indeed, on reflection, a rather sinister revolution. For the people employed in growing these 30s. grapes, these £2 melons, and 10s.

## A PACIFIST COMMENTARY (Continued from page one)

mushrooms are scheduled as engaged in work of national importance. The Government winks at the preposterous identification of luxury horticulture with necessary horticulture. Why? I think the emergence of 80s. grapes at the Nag's Head is the answer. And I leave it to my readers to guess the connection.

### Nine-Tenths=One-Fifth

THE bad language of this little story must be forgiven: it is essential. A soldier, lately returned from Iceland, and now in gaol, was talking to a CO in the same place, about his experiences. He enlarged picturesquely on the strained relations between the Icelanders and the army of occupation. He told how military and civilian walked on opposite pavements. And he ended: "Why, 90% of the bloody population are bloody fifth-columnists!"

### "Right to Live"

I HAVE been reading, and re-reading, the proofs of Max Plowman's posthumous book, "The Right to Live," which is shortly to be published by Andrew Dakers Ltd. (I believe at 7s. 6d.). It gives, more fully than any other book of his—more fully even than "The Faith called Pacifism," that veritable classic of our movement—his profound yet simple philosophy of life. It is a magnificent book, an inexhaustible source of courage and wisdom. In your own best interests, I urge you to make sure of obtaining a copy of it when it comes. No matter how hard you may have to scrape to get your seven and six, you will never regret the sacrifice.

If you want to understand in the height and depth, what pacifism means in the world today; if you desire to have your own dim purposes made fully conscious—and surely by now there can be no pacifist who does not desire this—then buy, read, and read again and again Max Plowman's "The Right to Live." I say this, having just finished my third reading of it. This is not a book; this is the soul's spirit and life-blood of a man. And it is "a possession for ever."

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They should be kept as short as possible—preferably not more than 600 words. If replies are required, stamped addressed envelopes must be enclosed.

## LAURENCE HOUSMAN

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## Re - orientation

By JOHN BARCLAY

**E**VENTS are compelling people to reconsider beliefs of a lifetime, and there seems to be more fluidity of thought as well as a greater willingness to think dangerously. If this proves to be correct and event follows event more rapidly, the result will involve us in a situation revolutionary in the extreme. To what extent is the pacifist movement preparing itself for such a situation and how many of us are prepared to live dangerously as a result?

Nine months of extensive travelling that has taken me to all parts of the country has shown me that progress is being made in at least two directions—and it can be assumed that this is general throughout the PPU: There has been a marked advance in political consciousness, due, I believe, to the efforts of such writers as "Observer" in Peace News. 2. An increasing number of our members are reaching the point at which personal responsibility becomes essential if there is to be further progress, and are accepting the challenge by taking on this responsibility.

### ADVENTUROUS LIVING

This growing political sense will call for a re-examination of the foundations of our faith and may lead us to a way of living more adventurous than some had contemplated. It is because the eagerness of so many younger members to assume responsibility comes at a time of general political awakening that the possibility exists for a re-orientation of present fixed ideas. With the world in turmoil we must be prepared to live and think dangerously. And without counting the cost.

Side by side with the undoubted individual progress I have indicated, there is a new demand for corporate action. Progress that in peace time would be slow is, under the pressure of modern war conditions, accelerated.

It is impossible to forecast the changes that our movement must undergo in the course of new development—but not perhaps unwise to suggest that imagination and vision will play a more important part than orthodoxy based on past revolutions.

J.B.

### ACTIVITIES

**High Wycombe.**—A new leaflet has been published by this group entitled "Win Through Love." It is the first in a new campaign, which it is hoped to launch in the district, to counter hatred. It is a single folded sheet, well printed, consisting entirely of appropriate biblical quotations, and is designed for distribution among non-pacifists. A sample copy may be had by sending a stamp to Stanley J. Stevens, 216 W. Wycombe Rd., High Wycombe, Bucks.

### SIR—

The authorities are apparently now sending their official agents even to remote PPU meetings for the purpose of heckling and eavesdropping.

Addressing a PPU group meeting in the fields at a Yorkshire farm yesterday, I ended a magnificent phrase with a significant pause for my words to be fully appreciated; only for the silence to be broken by a disembodied voice nearby crying "Cuckoo! Cuckoo!"

This is intolerable. I am, Sir, Yours indignantly,

FRANK DAWTRY

Wakefield.

## INDIA'S FREEDOM

by Carl Heath

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## Churchill on Hitler

**W**ITH the renewal of the controversy about the post-war attitude towards Germany, brought about by Mr. Herbert Morrison's and Lord Vansittart's speeches, the following quotations from the work of Mr. Winston Churchill make interesting reading.

They are from an essay on "Hitler and his choice" written in 1935 and published in 1937 with other essays under the title of "Great Contemporaries."

A number of these essays have recently been reprinted in shortened form in the Sunday Dispatch.

Hitler's success... would not have been possible but for the lethargy and folly of the French and British Governments since the war... No sincere attempt was made to come to terms with the various moderate governments of Germany which existed under a parliamentary system... Figures of reparation payments were adopted, not only by the French but by the British, which had no relation whatever to any process which exists, or could ever be devised, of transferring wealth from one community to another.

To enforce submission to these senseless demands, French armies actually reoccupied the Ruhr in 1923... An inter-allied board... supervised the internal finances of Germany for several years, thus renewing and perpetuating the utmost bitterness in the minds of the defeated nation...

Even while Germany was receiving great benefits by the loans which were made to her, Hitler's movement gained each week life and force from irritation and allied interference... Little was done to redress the grievances of the Treaties of Versailles and Trianon. Hitler in his campaign could point continually to a number of minor anomalies and racial injustices in the territorial arrangements of Europe, which fed the fires on which he lived.

Those of the Vansittart school might reflect on any "senseless demands" they may be framing, lest they help to sow the seeds of a third "war to end war."

ARTHUR CURTIS

250 Camden Rd., N.W.1.

## Humanitarianism and War Resistance

**A**S one who felt it right to refuse to register and not appear before a tribunal, I agree that the PPU should steadfastly maintain its stand of renouncing war.

However, a recent public meeting on food-relief, held in Evesham and addressed by Canon Hutchinson, gives emphasis to the point made by Vera Brittain—that "since converts have to be made from war supporters, the appeal must be launched on those issues where the evil consequences of war are most apparent." Quite half the audience were non-pacifist; supporting the speaker were three non-pacifist ministers. I am sure that this meeting did untold good in bringing before the public the damning consequences of starvation and war. And the local press gave a full report of the meeting.

JOHN BUBB

Littleton, Evesham.

I am amazed at the passion for unpopularity disclosed by the correspondence following on Sybil Morrison's letter. At the same time the writers indicate that they would like a campaign to resist or stop the war.

Unless we command respect—which you do not by "currying favour"—how can we expect to influence public opinion? What better way of doing this is there than engaging wholeheartedly in humanitarian work in a way that shows we really are concerned for the welfare of the peoples of the world, and not only for our own skins or the preservation of our personal integrity? As indeed the Pacifist Service Units are doing.

Why "humanitarian" work is despised I do not understand; but the craving for martyrdom often has a psychological explanation.

JOHN F. BROWN

117 Sloane St., S.W.1.

Space is precious. You have no room for interminable argument between pacifists. Put briefly, my fear is that PPU-ites may install sacrifice and service as twin gods, instead of noting that to contract out is the best example pacifists can render the world in these times. Agreeing with Stuart Morris that refusal to do something is not a mere negative, that there is such a thing as a positive refusal which becomes a corporate movement in fellowship; and impressed by Middleton Murry's warning that pacifists should not be led into clamour for action, I regretted Roy Walker's call for a short-term policy of impressing the public by means of planned sacrifice.

Responding to the 1914-18 clamour for action, I volunteered to become an instrument in the short-term policy generally approved then. Consequently I killed two German soldiers at Passchendaele on Sep. 20, 1917, and when poetic justice overtook me two months later and a German shell robbed me of two limbs, I was accorded exactly the kind of approval essentially the same public accords the Sheffield pacifists consciously adopting a sacrificial tactic today. With what result Roy Walker knows so well that, defying popular clamour and awaiting not any lead from any National Council, individually and spontaneously he has determined to go to prison rather than take the first step towards killing.

I venture to predict that this his long-term policy will make a more lasting impression than anything Roy Walker said at the AGM. As Howard Whitten said, we are war renouncers and war resisters, and what appeared to be the longest way round might prove the shortest way through.

SAM WALSH

16 Morningside Rd., Bolton.

## Letters to the Editor

The Editor to Correspondents:—

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

## Pacifists and Agriculture

**M**R. J. K. Mason in your issue of May 29, states: "In a world of potential abundance there would always be a certain trickle of international trade between nations, however steeped they may become in 'self-sufficiency.'" The pacifist, according to Mr. Mason, is to help this trickle to become as small as possible by doing his best to make England agriculturally self-sufficient.

This echoes dimly the demand for post-war sacrifice from the working people on the ground that we have mortgaged the future. We have not eaten the corn and fruit and wine that will be grown in 1950, nor worn out the clothes and cars which will be manufactured then. Surely it is the duty of the pacifist to work for the fair distribution of these abundant riches wherever they are grown or made to the peoples of the world, and to believe that it will happen.

To say: "There is no subject in which the pacifist in this country has a greater duty to take an interest than the subject of agriculture" is arbitrary and untrue. The pacifist has many greater duties, the chief one being to live creatively instead of destructively. Some may find this way of living in agriculture, and for them work on the land will have a regenerative virtue.

But the COs of my acquaintance are mostly sensitive people of not unduly robust physique, some gifted with creative imagination, others with intellectual quality above the average. To say that they should spend the best of their lives in the cowhouse or the turnip field is to demand the destruction of their essential individuality, and to deny them the activity for which God has evidently intended them.

MARTIN BOYD

Plumstead, Little Eversden, Cambridge.

"Turning to the Land" is a long term policy which pacifists should follow, but since a man cannot be successful in the country unless his wife understands and loves it, and is prepared to forego town superficialities and enjoy vital work, this question depends on our women pacifists.

Why will our girls, who are so bravely backing up the splendid COs on the land, not consider giving up their city jobs and fit themselves to be countrywomen? They would discover a way of life, arduous but satisfying and calculated to justify pacifism as a first rate practical policy.

### TOWNSWOMAN TURNED FARMER'S WIFE

**N.B.**—As the result of a check-up, Headquarters found that a large proportion of PPU members who asked for tickets for the AGM had not notified HQ of a change of address. The PPU can only keep in touch with members and keep its membership record reliable if all such changes are notified. What about YOUR address? Have you changed it lately? If so, have you let Headquarters know?

## THE GRAND STRATEGY

(Continued from page 2)

posed of that problem with a vengeance!

Then look at the chance of giving real aid to China. It is reported that Mrs. Chiang Kai Shek has lately been making uncomplimentary remarks about the inadequacy of Allied aid; perhaps she says it is "loud noise on the staircase, but nobody comes downstairs." Could she complain, however, if Allied help came pouring in from the Russian side? Would the loss of the Burma Road then matter?

And just consider the beautiful opportunities for national, class and personal reconciliation which the Grand Strategy would provide. (For members, especially, please note.)

Democrats, Fascists, and Communists could all march arm-in-arm to victory. No-one need feel left out.

In the past relations between myself and the Home Secretary have been a little strained. It is true that when I read the other day that he was to be attacked in Parliament for advocating fair treatment of the German people after the war, I wanted to send him a telegram of congratulation, but I didn't because I was afraid he might think I was just trying to be funny and might shut me up under 18B!

With the adoption of my plan, however, these unfortunate misunderstandings would come to an end. We could, in fact, both go to Holloway together and release Sir Oswald and Lady Mosley, for Sir Oswald hates the Japs and used to get most upset when they insulted British citizens in China.

We might even take the Mosleys' youngest child to the Zoo to play in the cockatrice's den. Perhaps, however, the Zoo no longer

## POSITIVE PACIFISM

**A** SECTION of Professor Carr's worthwhile book "The Conditions of Peace" is devoted to considering the "moral function" of war.

This heading—reminiscent of William James—immediately provokes certain questions in the pacifist's mind: what is this moral function? Is it co-extensive with the total function of war? and what causes it to be described by the professor as moral?

Let us see what answers the book supplies.

"Today," says the writer, "it is legitimate to denounce war as cruel and brutal. But it is thoroughly misleading to describe it as senseless or purposeless. War is at the present time the most purposeful of our social institutions."

This statement is illustrated from the fact that, in the first place, war provides "an effective, if short-term, antidote" to the evils of unemployment and inequality.

In the second, it provides a sense of meaning and purpose widely felt to be lacking in modern life. "Hence war becomes the most powerful known instrument of social solidarity."

This summary perhaps shows what Professor Carr means by ascribing a "moral function" to war, and though it is easy enough to quarrel with the word "moral", this does not dispose of the problem with which he faces us.

For what he says of war, we must admit, is part of the truth, though one would also emphasize the terrible evidence of modern insanity that the admission indicates.

At the same time, we must take up the implied challenge to pacifism.

Can pacifism produce a positive dynamic to compare with that of war?

Our conceptions of peace are frequently inadequate and negative. The language of pacifism is clogged with phrases which betray our habit of mind: "Non-violence"; "We say no"; "Conscientious objection"; and so on.

In peace-time we saw this tendency but felt that, should war come, our position would be different. As a matter of fact, however, we are many of us in the same welter of negativity.

Whatever we are doing we are liable to feel that our witness to pacifism lacks the positive character of other people's war-service.

Is this inevitable? If not, can anything be done about it?

Perhaps the answer lies in group, rather than individual, war-resistance. Could we not have pacifist "Invasion Committees", even a pacifist "Home Guard", schooled in self-discipline and the techniques of Ahimsa?

Thus we could offer a positive contribution of service which would nevertheless accord with our peace principles.

OLIVE SAMPSON

have a cockatrice as they are hatched from eggs laid by very old cocks and, with wartime poultry food, it is difficult enough to obtain eggs even from hens.

Still, even if the cockatrice idea had to be given up, there is no reason why Sir Oswald Mosley should not be appointed Air Minister for the new war against Japan.

Sir Archibald Sinclair could be moved to the Office of Works and there put in charge of the department which takes care of ancient buildings and monuments. This should amuse General Goering who is the only Nazi who has a sense of humour and it should help to cement the new alliance.

### Fruits of Victory

When the Grand Alliance had achieved victory and had reconquered all the lost British, American, and Dutch possessions, the swag could be divided equally. The British share might be less than the original one, but at the present rate of going we shall not be left with any share at all; and isn't Equality of Sacrifice the latest slogan? A far better slogan, too, than Return to Sanity, which is so namby-pamby in war-time!

With regard to the treatment of the defeated enemy, it is necessary to remember that the Japs were the first aggressors. Did they not lead the Fascists, Communists, and Democrats astray by their bad example? What then could be more fitting as an act of repentance and proof of the permanent intention of the Grand Alliance to renounce aggression for all time than that they should throw the whole Japanese people down the crater of Fuji-yama?

There could then be no question of another Versailles, and the Japs themselves would probably prefer the arrangement to the indignity of living on as a defeated nation. Indeed, if the suggestion were put to them in the right way they might even agree to jump down voluntarily as an act of national harakiri.

Do I hear an For member object "But this wouldn't be pacifism"?

Bless the man! After all this wonderful picture of reconciliation which I have just been showing him, he actually complains that it wouldn't be pacifism!

Does he expect to have perfection? Hasn't the Archbishop of Canterbury told us that we can't be Christians in an imperfect world?



Daily Mail  
May 11.

### VICAR "POISONS" INVADERS

A dozen Commando men leaned wearily against the railings of a vicarage in the outskirts of Plymouth. The vicar and curate recognized them as the "enemy" in the city's invasion test, and invited them in for a cup of tea.

The thirsty "Commandos" accepted gratefully and trooped indoors.

When they had drunk the tea the vicar told them "You've all been poisoned, and are out of action." An umpire complimented him on his initiative.

Daily Express  
May 14.

### "WE COULDN'T REFUSE"

The Parochial Council of Holy Trinity Church, Brompton Road, S.W., decided at a special meeting last night that the Japanese diplomatic staff—waiting to be repatriated—may continue using the tennis courts behind the church.

The Japs use of the courts has caused much local disapproval.

The Rev. Bryan Green, vicar, said: "We could say only Yes, unless we wished to show a spirit of un-Christian revenge. In any case, I believe the Japanese are going very soon."

## No Non-Combatant Duties for Women C.O.s

**F**OUR of the women conscientious objectors who appeared before the Fulham Tribunal on May 15 were registered for non-combatant duties. In view of the fact that women in the Services are required to use lethal weapons only if they volunteer to do so, the Central Board for C.O.s approached the Ministry of Labour as to the position of these C.O.s.

The Ministry have now replied to the effect that women in the Services who have not volunteered to use lethal weapons cannot necessarily be regarded as engaged upon non-combatant duties. There are a variety of duties which such women will be called upon to perform which are obviously of a definitely combatant nature.

There is at present no intention to set up a non-combatant section of any of the women's Services, and accordingly women registered for non-combatant duties will be protected from enrolment in the Services as at present constituted. In practice, they would be likely to be directed to take up civil work, such as hospital or land work, including, where appropriate, work in Civil Defence.

Thus, there is no obligation upon the Ministry of Labour to call upon C.O.s liable for non-combatant duties to do such duties.

Women C.O.s in the employ of Birmingham Corporation are to be suspended for the duration of the war, the City Council decided on June 2. Men objectors are subject to the same conditions. Councillors pointed out, however, that some of them could not be removed because of the Essential Works Order.

#### IN DETENTION BARRACKS

The June issue of the CBCO Bulletin contains a description by a C.O. of his experiences

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## WHY HITLER?

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## Food-Relief Campaign Notes

**W**ITH the fine weather and long evenings the emphasis of the Food Relief Campaign is being thrown increasingly on open-air meetings. Hyde Park, London, launches a series of meetings next Wednesday. Provincial and suburban pitches are due to be opened in the next week or two.

The first of several weekend schools on Food Relief is being held next weekend in Hanley, Staffs. It is hoped that these schools, intended primarily for speakers but also of interest to all campaigners, will culminate, as the Hanley school will, in a big open-air meeting.

Speakers at weekend schools are willing to inaugurate a "pitch" at the end of the weekend if the local Committee are willing to keep it going with their local talent for the rest of the summer. In addition, it is hoped that local pulpits will be available on the Sunday night to weekend schools for an address on famine and food relief, as has already been arranged by Manchester.

New publications include the Hugh Gibson article, reprinted as a 3d. pamphlet, the leaflet "And now Feed Starving Belgium!" which is intended for more broadcast distribution (price 7s. 6d. per 1,000), and revised versions of the "Four Questions" and "Red Cross" leaflets.

Below are details of the weekend schools which Roy Walker hopes to take this month:



Hanley Town Hall—June 13-14 (Nora Bolton, 125 The Avenue, Stoke).

Manchester—WIL Office, 1 Princess St. June 20-21 (Mrs. Mary Phillips).

London—June 28, Endsleigh Gardens (Donald Port, London Area, PPU).

To the Editor of Peace News

Owing to the number of inquiries for the Declarations for signature received in response to our letter (PN, May 15), we would be grateful if inquirers would be kind enough to enclose a stamp for reply. The Declaration is not designed particularly for pacifists; if any groups would prefer to duplicate a form of their own (as is being done in one case) we will allow the use of our name, if desired, and submit the completed forms with the others, provided a sample is sent for our approval first. Declarations must bear the name of an issuing body, but need not be identically worded.

JOAN WILSON

Controlled Food Relief Section,

People's Common Law Parliament

5 Endsleigh Place, W.C.1.

Please note our only address

C. A. BROCK & Co Ltd.

79 SOUTHERN ROW, LONDON, W.10.

For all Printing & Stationery

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London N.4. by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co., (T.U.), London N.16.

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### LITERATURE, &c.

"QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. "WIN THROUGH LOVE." A new and attractive leaflet suitable for non-pacifists. Please send stamp for sample, Stanley J. Stevens, 216 West Wycombe Road, High Wycombe, Bucks.

### MEETINGS &c.

EPSOM Regional Rally, Sat., June 20, at "Wayside," Croydon Lane, Banstead, 3 p.m. onward. Tennis, golf, tea. Speaker, Donald Port.

HOLY CROSS, Cromer St., St. Pancras, Sun., June 14. 11 Rev. R. H. Le Messurier; 6.30 Rev. P. L. D. Chamier.

SMALL International Fellowship meets Tues. evgs. Discussions, rambles, playreading, music including small orchestra. Write Sec., 28 Woburn Sq., W.C.1.

TRINITY Presbyterian Church, Kentish Town Rd., N.W.1 (100 yards from Camden Town Underground). Conference, Sun., June 14, 11 a.m. Rev. Lewis MacLachlan, M.A., F.O.R. Secretary, Scotland. "Christ's Judgment."

### PERSONAL

EX-SUB-EDITOR, C.O., served prison sentence, seeks job: research (economics, sociology), translation (Ital., Span.), proof-reading. Mod. remuneration; pref. not full time to enable him to do relief, and/or youth-educatnl. work. Box 302 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LADY, Christian pacifist, interested animals and country life, wishes to meet congenial friend with similar interests; 40-50. London district. Box 307 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

AT ONCE. Wanted, helper for general work in house; share room; 10 on staff; Yorkshire country. Write to Wardens, Heys Farm Guest House, W. Bradford in Ribblesdale, nr. Clitheroe, Lancs.

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST agricultural workers for new County Committee hostel at Mere, Wilts. Opportunities for local church, Sunday school, and allied spare-time work. Apply Sec., C.P.F.L.U., Room 16, Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.2.

DOMESTIC HELP in pacifist household small family adults. Apply Box 306 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

DOMESTIC WORKER: Cook; kitchen gardener; handyman, required for progressive community. Board, lodgings, and pocket money. Preference given to Friends and those able to invest. Full particulars to Box 277 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

FULLY EXPERIENCED motor mechanic wanted, commercial fleet, Somerset, give full particulars. Box 305 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### SITUATIONS VACANT (Cont.)

MEN FOR WORK with mechanical potato harvester July-Nov. Experience immaterial. Wages six pounds weekly. Box 297 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST LAND community Essex offers vacancy for single woman C.O. Mainly domestic, some opportunity farm work. Box 286 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SKIL-PER-ENGINEER. Competent, experienced yachtsman or fisherman for 50ft. Motor Launch; Scotland. Also Boy. Or married couple take full charge. Protected. Box 279 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED IN SCHOOL for backward boys: (1) Man and wife for gardening etc. and domestic work; (2) Cook (man or woman); (3) Man for carpentry. Apply by letter giving age, experience, and testimonials to W.K. Guest, Patton Hall, Burlington, Salop.

WANTED 3 helpers for teaching and household work in progressive home school, children 3-12. Opportunity married couple. Fairhaven, Gouthland, York.

WHOLESALE fruit and vegetable firm requires a man to assist in collection and delivery. Owner C.O. in last war. Apply W. F. Bullard and Co., Auctioneers, Guild St., Stratford-on-Avon, Warwick.

### SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

CAPABLE GARDENER, Austrian, seeks post; long experience, good references. Recommended by War Resisters' International, to whom write 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middx.

C.O. seeks work with sympathetic farmer. Some experience, willing; live in; preferably Home Counties. Box 301 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 22, Science graduate, interested in psychology, desires full-time social service work. Box 295 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. (23), strong, willing, desires land work with opportunities for using general handiness gained in 2 years hospital work. Box 300 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. (27), conditionally exempt, requires work as full-time fire-watcher, ambulance driver, A.R.P. work, or hospital orderly. Box 299 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

FIRST CLASS Typewriting and Duplicating, etc. Mabel Eyles, 84 The Vale, Southgate, N.14. Tel: Pal. 7386.

PACIFIST ARCHITECT and surveyor's assistant seeks employment. N.W. area preferred, but would work anywhere. Box 298 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

UNCONDITIONAL C.O. (27), with young baby, desires reception area post. Baker, confectioner 13 months. Perkins, 12 Grasmere Av., Heaton Chapel, Stockport.

### WHERE TO STAY

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### MISCELLANEOUS

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